

billion cost of the Gulf War, which equaled about 1% of GDP in 1991. During that war, U.S. allies paid \$48 billion of the cost, says William Hoagland, chief Republican staffer of the Senate Budget Committee.

This time it is far from clear how much of the cost—if any—America's allies would be willing to bear. Most European allies, apart from Britain, have been trying to dissuade Mr. Bush from launching an attack, at least without a United Nations resolution of approval. But if the U.S. decides to invade, it may be able to get the allies to pick up some of the tab if only to help their companies cash in on the bounty from a post-Saddam Iraq.

Toppling Mr. Hussein could be more expensive than the Persian Gulf War if the U.S. has to keep a large number of troops in the country to stabilize it once Mr. Hussein is removed from power. Despite the Bush administration's aversion to nation building, Gen. Tommy Franks, commander of U.S. troops in the Middle East and Central Asia, recently said that the U.S. troops in Afghanistan likely would remain for years to come. The same is almost certain to be true in Iraq. Keeping the peace among Iraq's fractious ethnic groups almost certainly will require a long-term commitment of U.S. troops.

During the Gulf War, the U.S. fielded 500,000 troops. A far smaller force is anticipated in a new attack on Iraq. But the GOP's Mr. Hoagland said the costs could be higher because of the expense of a new generation of smart missiles and bombs. In addition, the nature of the assault this time is expected to be different. During the Gulf War, U.S. troops bombed from above and sent tank-led troops in for a lightning sweep through the Iraqi desert. A new Iraq war could involve prolonged fighting in Baghdad and other Iraqi cities—even including house-to-house combat.

The Gulf War started with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, which prompted a brief recession. The U.S. started bombing Iraq on Jan. 16, 1991, and called a halt to the ground offensive at the end of February.

With Iraq's invasion, oil prices spiked and consumer confidence in the U.S. plunged. But Mr. Lindsey said the chance of that happening again is "small." U.S. diplomats have been trying to get assurances from Saudi Arabia, Russia and other oil-producing states that they would make up for any lost Iraqi oil production. In addition, Mr. Lindsey said that the pumping equipment at the nation's Strategic Petroleum Reserve has been improved so oil is easier to tap, if necessary. Both the Bush and Clinton administrations, he said, wanted to "make sure you can pump oil out quickly."

On Thursday, Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan said he doubted a war would lead to recession because of the reduced dependence of the U.S. economy on oil. "I don't think that . . . the effect of oil as it stands at this particular stage, is large enough to impact the economy unless the hostilities are prolonged," Mr. Greenspan told the House Budget Committee. "If we go through a time frame such as the Gulf War, it is unlikely to have a significant impact on us."

The U.S. economy also has become less dependent on oil than it was in 1990, said Mark Zandi, chief economist at Economy.com, an economic consulting group in West Chester, Pa. A larger percentage of economic activity comes from services, as compared with energy-intensive manufacturers, he said. Many of those manufacturers also use more energy-efficient machinery.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 12:40 having arrived, the Senate will now stand in recess until the hour of 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:37 p.m., recessed until 2:15 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. EDWARDS).

HOMELAND SECURITY ACT OF 2002

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 2:15 p.m. having arrived, the Senate will now resume consideration of H.R. 5005, which the clerk will report by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 5005) to establish the Department of Homeland Security, and for other purposes.

Pending:

Lieberman amendment No. 4471, in the nature of a substitute.

Thompson/Warner amendment No. 4513 (to amendment No. 4471), to strike title II, establishing the National Office for Combating Terrorism, and title III, developing the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism and Homeland Security Response for detection, prevention, protection, response, and recover to counter terrorist threats.

Lieberman amendment No. 4534 (to amendment No. 4513), to provide for a National Office for Combating Terrorism, and a National Strategy for Combating Terrorism and the Homeland Security Response.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, under an order previously entered, it is my understanding the Senator from West Virginia has the floor; is that right?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. Under the previous order, the Senator from West Virginia is recognized.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the Chair and I thank the distinguished Democratic whip.

Mr. President, I want to be sure that Senators understand the parliamentary situation in the Senate at this point.

Last Thursday, the Senate voted on a motion to table the Thompson amendment to strike Titles II and III of the Lieberman substitute. Title II would establish a new National Office for Combating Terrorism within the Executive Office of the President whose Director would be confirmed by the Senate and made accountable to the Congress.

That is incredibly important. The National Office for Combating Terrorism was viewed by our good colleague, Senator LIEBERMAN as a central part of his homeland security bill. Title II was carried over from his original bill that was introduced last May, before the White House endorsed the idea of creating a new Department of Homeland Security.

But the motion to table the Thompson amendment to strike Title II failed

by a vote of 41-55 last Thursday. Senator LIEBERMAN conceded the victory to Senator THOMPSON, and urged the Senate to accept the "the next best idea." Senator LIEBERMAN offered a scaled down version of Titles II and III as a second degree amendment to the Thompson amendment.

It was at that point that I gained the floor and have held it until today.

So I find myself in a position that I had not intended—and not an easy position. I have often felt, in recent days, as if this 84-year-old man—soon to be 85; within a few days—is the only thing standing between a White House hungry for power and the safeguards in the Constitution. That is not bragging, that is lamenting.

This is not the way it ought to be. This will not go down as one of the Senate's shining moments. Historians will not look back at this debate and say that we fulfilled the role that was envisioned by the Framers.

This Senate should have the wisdom to stand for this institution and the Constitution. It is not our duty to protect the White House. It is our duty to protect the people—those people out there looking through their electronic lenses, the people who come here from day to day, these silent individuals who sit up here in the galleries. They do not have anything to say. They are not allowed to speak under the Senate rules, but they sit and watch us. They are looking over our shoulders, as it were, and they expect us to speak for them. They will help to ensure that the interests and the rights of the American people are protected. That is what these people want. They want us to assure that their interests—the people's interests—and the rights of the American people are protected.

I have been joined by a few voices on this floor in recent days, and I thank them. I feel that at least some Members are beginning to view this legislation as doing much more than merely setting up a new Department of Homeland Security.

I have also heard from citizens across the country who have urged me never to give up. Well, I can assure them that as long as I am privileged to serve in this body I will never give up defending the Constitution.

I heard Condoleezza Rice last Sunday, and I heard Dr. Rice the Sunday before.

I heard Secretary of State Powell last Sunday on television, and I heard him the Sunday before.

I have listened to Secretary Rumsfeld, and I have listened to Vice President CHENEY on television.

I have listened to various and sundry Senators on television. I have listened to various and sundry other spokespersons on television.

I read the op-ed piece of former Secretary of State Shultz in the newspaper Sunday a week ago.